

A PROPER
ANSWER

TO A LATE

Scurrilous Libel,

ENTITLED,

*An Apology for the Conduct of a late
celebrated Second-rate Minister.*

By the AUTHOR of the *Jacobite's Journal*.

Hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.



LONDON,

Printed for M. COOPER in *Pater-noster-Row*.

MDCCXLVII.

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A. E. R. O. P. A. R.

A. N. S. W. E. R.

To A. E. R. A. S.

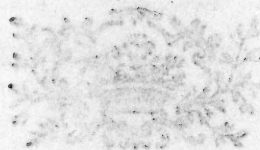
Scutellous Libel



The Apology
celebrate

By the Author of the Jacobite's Journal

The right of the Jacobite's Journal



L O W D O N

Printed by M. Cooper in Pall-mall

MDCCLXVI

[Price One Shilling]

Advertisement.

THE Author of the following
 ANSWER would not be
 thought to conceive it possible, that
 some of the Insinuations in the
 APOLOGY could impose on any Man
 living; the Intent of this Answer
 is to wipe off those odious Lights
 attempted to be cast on the late glo-
 rious Revolution, and to obviate a
 very false and dangerous Conclusion,
 which the wicked Author of the
 Pamphlet hath presumed to draw
 from the whole.

Indeed it was highly improper to
 suffer such an Attempt to pass unre-
 garded, and yet it must be acknow-
 ledged highly difficult to give a se-
 rious

rious Answer to a Writer who builds the deepest and blackest Designs, on Arguments in which he must be supposed to be only in jest.

All that Part therefore is waved, as well as what relates to foreign Politics, during the Administration of the late Earl of ORFORD: For tho' many of the Objections here made are false, I know no Person who can be now called upon to refute them.



Induced it was highly improper to suffer such an Attempt to pass un- guarded, and yet it must be acknow- ledged highly difficult to give a de-

mons

A P R O P E R
A N S W E R

To A L A T E
Scurrilous Libel,

E N T I T L E D,

*An Apology for the Conduct of a late
celebrated Second-rate Minister, &c.*

WHEN Popery without a Mask stalks
publickly abroad, and Jesuits preach
their Doctrines in Print, with the
same Confidence as when the last Popish
Prince was seated on the Throne, it becomes
high Time for every Man, who wishes well
to his Country, to offer some Antidote to
the intended Poison.

B

There

There hath lately appeared a Pamphlet entitled, *An Apology for the Conduct of a late celebrated Second-rate Minister, &c.* This Pamphlet, for Impudence and Falsehood, and, at the same Time, for the most secret and destructive Views, never had its Equal.

The two former of these make it the Object of Contempt and Ridicule; but the latter place it in a more serious Light, and call for some Antidote to the Poison this is intended to spread amongst the Multitude.

This Pamphlet asserts,

I. That the late Mr. *Winnington* was its Author.

II. That not only he, but Sir *Robert Walpole*, and all the present Ministry; nay, that the Great Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, were *Jacobites*; and acted from a settled Design of introducing the Pretender into this Kingdom.

III.

III. That the late King was likewise a *Jacobite*, and intended to resign his Crown in Favour of that abjured, pretended Prince.

IV. That the King of *France* is in the Interest of the House of *Hanover*; and not even a Well-wisher to the Cause of *Jacobitism*, or to the Family of the *Stuarts*.

Such Assertions as these, no Man in his Wits will attempt to answer; nor no such Man will, I believe, desire to see them answered: But I must observe they greatly assist in answering all the rest; since they either prove the Author to be a Madman, or in Jest; or else that he is capable of asserting Falshoods blacker than Hell itself.

But black, and false, and wicked as this Pamphlet is, it contains some certain and undoubted Truths: Such are the Designs of *Queen Anne* and her Ministry, now first asserted and avowed in Print. True, indeed, it is, that this unhappy, deluded Princess was, by wicked Ministers who acted under the Cabals of *Rome*, led into the most pernicious and destructive Schemes. To execute these, was that detestable Treaty of *Utrecht* made; by which *France* was

B 2

again

again re-instated in almost every Thing she had lost, and relieved from all she had to fear from her victorious Enemies. To these destructive Schemes were sacrificed the Fruits of so much Blood and Treasure, and all those glorious Consequences which might have been drawn from the unparalell'd Successes of our Arms, under the Conduct of the Great, the Protestant, the Whig Duke of *Marlborough*. To carry on these Popish Projects, that Great General was discarded; our Allies, and with them the Protestant Cause of *Europe*, was abandoned; and the Power of *France* restored, that she might be as able, as she was ready to assist, with that Power, in establishing the Throne in the House of *Stuarts*, and Popery in this Nation; to both which, as necessarily connected together, she, and all the other Popish Powers in *Europe*, had lent a helping Hand, during above half a Century.

Yet *weak* as this Princess was, the Minister, it is said † *could not, with Safety, trust her with all the Secrets of his Plan*. What Secrets are here meant? To introduce the Pretender was her Desire and Design. Rather, therefore, say, She was not to be trusted with *the Consequences of this Plan*.

WEAK

† In the Apology.

WEAK indeed this Princess was, but she
 was **HONEST**. She would not have entered
 into this Scheme, could she have discerned
 it in its true Light. She would not have
 attempted to introduce a Popish Bigot, who
 hath no more Right to be King of *En-
 gland* than he hath to be Emperor of *China*.
 She would not have made this Country a
 Scene of Bloodshed and Desolation; have
 brought Popery, with all its dreadful Hor-
 rors, upon us, and have subjected this Crown
 to be again dependent on the *French* King.
 I say *again*; for dependent it was during
 the Reigns of the three last Kings of the
Stuart Line, and whom may that God,
 who alone can protect his own Protestant
 Cause, grant to be the last of that Line,
 who ever shall reign in this Nation, or
 rather, who shall be ever the *French*
 Vicegerents here. Let me add, that to
 this Dependence is principally owing the
 present Grandeur of that ambitious Crown,
 which is the only great Sore of this Nation,
 and the chief Plague of *Europe*. Under
 this Dependence did those wicked Princes
 endeavour to subject this Nation to Slavery;
 chusing rather to be Viceroy's over Slaves,
 than the limited Kings of Freemen: Nay,
 under this Dependence did *Charles* the Se-
 cond, and *James* the Second, (and most
 openly

openly and plainly the last) attempt not only to destroy our civil, but our religious Liberty, and once more to cast the intolerable Bonds of Popery upon us. But from Popery, and from *France*, and from the House of *Stuart*, the wretched Tool of both, we have been twice delivered, by the Sense and by the Bravery of our Ancestors: And shou'd we ever submit to (much more shou'd we court) these Chains again, what Animal upon Earth is there so low and despicable, that it would not suffer in Comparison with our Baseness or with our Folly.

And this, I think, our Jesuit is so kind to own: For speaking of Sir *Robert Walpole's* Scheme (most absurd and ridiculous Supposition!) to introduce the Pretender, he says, " Another Branch of his Scheme, " was to corrupt the Morals of the People " generally, *in order to create an Indifference in them, towards Religion and Poverty. A Disregard for the latter would* " plunge them naturally into Profusion and " Luxury, which would necessarily hurry " on Poverty *and Despair*; and a DISRE- " LISH FOR RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN GE- " NERAL WOULD RENDER THEM LESS " ANXIOUS AND AVERSE TO THOSE RE- " LIGIOUS

" RELIGIOUS TENETS, that had given the
 " best Colour for the late Change in the
 " Constitution." These are *verbatim* his
 Words; and how they came to drop un-
 guardedly from the Pen of a Jesuit may
 seem justly surprizing. But it is well ob-
 served by a sensible as well as worthy Wri-
 ter, *That all Villains, if closely attended to,*
do, at one Time or another, betray them-
selves. Could the best and honestest Whig in
 the Nation have said more than this? Nay,
 have they not said this a hundred Times
 over? For is it not here confess'd, *totidem*
verbis, that nothing but the utmost Indif-
 ference towards Religion and Posterity; no-
 thing but a total Disregard for the latter,
 join'd with Despair, and an Indifference,
 nay, a general Disrelish for the former,
 could effectuate this horrid Scheme. Far-
 ther, is it not here confess'd and avowed,
 that the Success of this Scheme would be
 attended with the Restoration of those re-
 ligious Tenets, (i. e. Popery) which are
 here acknowledged to have given the best
 Colour for the Revolution.

This

This is a Degree of Honesty which I did not expect in a Jesuit ; but it is one of those political Flaws,

————— *quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit Natura.*

For none but the Devil himself is a Jesuit in consummate Perfection.

But what pray is meant by the Change in the Constitution? Or rather, what is meant by the Old Constitution, which was changed at the Revolution, and which any honest Man, or good *Briton*, would desire to see restored? What is this Old Constitution?

Is it the Constitution under the ancient Tenures, which was changed at the Restoration, given up as a Kind of postlimited Condition by *Charles* the Second, at his Return ; and in the Hurry of Joy in which he then was, when perhaps it was little weighed or considered? Tho', to say the Truth, the Interest of the Crown was not concern'd in maintaining it : For tho' the greatest Part of the People were in old Time Slaves under these Tenures, yet it was not a
Slavery

Slavery to the King, but to the great Men of the Nation, who, partly by these Means, were often too powerful for the King himself.

Is it then the Constitution under which the Barons lorded it, as well over the King as over the People, and which was destroyed by *Henry the Seventh*?

Is it the Tyranny of the Pope which we desire to restore, and which was abolished by *Henry the Eighth*?

Or lastly; Is it that Regal Tyranny, which four successive Princes of the House of *Stuart* had been endeavouring, by all the Means of Fraud as well as of Force, to erect and establish in this Kingdom?

To lay the Foundation of this Tyrannical *Babel*, did *Charles the Second* sell himself to *France*. (I had almost said to the Devil.) With this View did he assist the *French* King, in the projected Extirpation of the Protestant Interest in *Europe*: And with this View did he undermine both our Liberty and our Religion at Home. For this Purpose were the Laws perverted, to
C shed

shed some of the best * and noblest Blood in the Nation ; and the Pulpits corrupted to trumpet forth the Doctrines of absolute Power ; in which Divines were found shameless enough to assert, that the King had an absolute Right to all that Subjects were possessed of † ; that he had Power to raise Taxes or Subsidies without Consent of Parliament ; and that all his Subjects who resisted him would be damned ‡.

With the same Views did *James* the Second (the Foundation being thus laid) carry on the mighty Work openly, and above ground. Not to ennumerate all the tyrannical Acts of his Reign, of which History is so full, and which are so recent, that they are universally well known, his assuming to himself the Power of dispensing with Laws, a Power so unknown to our Constitution, was at once leaping (if I may be allowed the Expression) into the Saddle of Tyranny, and declaring himself absolute.

* Lord *Ruffel*, *Sydney*, &c. murdered by Force of Law, for having been the Champions of Liberty, and of the Protestant Religion.

† Dr. *Harsnet* made, for such Services, Bishop of *Chichester*.

‡ Dr. *Maynwaring*, in a Sermon before the King, after which he was soon made Bishop of *St. David's*.

Now,

Now, this Fortrefs of arbitrary Power was, I acknowledge, totally overturned by the Revolution; and to overturn it was the whole End and Design of that Revolution.

But what Change it hath introduced into our true Constitution, I am at a Loss to imagine. Indeed if we will acknowledge, with the base Flatterers who writ and preached in the Time of these *Stuarts*, that the King of *England* is, by the Laws of our Constitution, absolute, and can be controuled only by his own Will: In short, if the absolute Power exercised by some of the *Stuart* Family, and aimed at by them all, be really a Part of our Constitution, then I own the Revolution hath introduced a Change; a Change for which we ought forever to honour our glorious Ancestors, for having so hazardously purchased for us; since, without this Change, we should, in all Probability, have been at this Day the most wretched People that ever groaned under the heavy Burden of Popery and arbitrary Power.

Again, what means the Jesuit, when he says, " that those who had the earliest and " principal Share in the Conduct of that " mighty Affair, (the Revolution) had no

“ View to such a Change as happened, nor
 “ intended to go such Lengths, as they were
 “ led into afterwards?” Certainly they in-
 tended to have expelled this Popish Tyrant;
 for that was the first Step to be taken. Or
 was he only to be corrected; to have his ab-
 solute Power taken from him for a Time,
 and restored to him again? But what Degree
 of Weakness must we allow to Men whom
 we can suppose capable of such Designs,
 trusting one a second Time, who had already
 shewn he was not to be trusted, having
 broken the most solemn Promises, Vows and
 Oaths before? Did they undertake this ex-
 tremely hazardous Enterprize, at the certain
 Price of their Blood if they failed, in order,
 if they should succeed, to give up not only
 all for which they had contended, but them-
 selves too, into the Hands of a Tyrant, who
 would most certainly punish them for what
 they had done? Did they rouse and incense
 the Lion, with a Purpose only of casting
 themselves into his Den?

How then can they be said to have gone
 greater Lengths than they intended? Were
 too beneficial Conditions stipulated for the
 Subject at this Time? Did the Declaration
 of Rights infringe the ancient Powers and
 Prerogatives of the Crown? Was King
Wil-

William too circumscribed a Monarch? Sure no Jesuit would wish him to have had more Power; or have the Princes which have reigned since lost any of the Majesty of their Throne; or can they derive their Deprivation of any Right, with which our Constitution hath invested an *English* Monarch, from this Revolution.

And who are those People, who, in the very Moment of our Deliverance, and of that Deliverance to which they so gloriously, so dangerously contributed, repented them of the Good they had done, and of the Lengths into which they had been led effectually to free themselves from Popery and Tyranny? Here my good Jesuit *will pause*, I apprehend, some Time, before he will be able to name any such Person. Struggles, I own, there were, very early ones, not in favour of *the old Constitution*, but in favour of that new one so lately attempted to be introduced, and so freshly abolished. And these Struggles, I do agree with our Jesuit, were *highly to the Dishonour of those who had shamefully yielded to the Allurements of Court Favour and Power*, and who were determined to involve their Country in Confusion, and, if possible, to sacrifice it to the Ruin it had so narrowly,

so

so providentially escaped, in order to obtain such Favour and Power, or to revenge the Disappointment.

This, I am afraid, was too great a Source of that Opposition which arose in the early Days of the Revolution; and this hath been visibly in many Instances, and actually I conceive in most, the true genuine Cause of Opposition since.

But enough of this Skiomachy; for so in Reality it is. I haste to the grand Point, to that poisonous Doctrine, which is endeavoured to be concealed in the Vehicle of all this Buffoonery, in all these monstrous and absurd Suppositions. " Shall we not," says this most impudent and malicious Writer, " arrive much sooner and more certainly at " the Port of our Happiness, by sailing rather with, than against the Current of " Power? Let all who are fond of War, " and Parades on the *Continent*, be indulged. " Let all who would maintain a large standing " Corps of cherished foreign Mercenaries, " have their way. Let those who would " increase our Debts, be pleased. And let " those who would prolong the War, to increase these Pledges, and for a Pretext " to continue the aforesaid Mercenaries in " our Pay, be praised and supported. In " short,

“ short, let all who would impoverish the
 “ People, in order to humble them, and
 “ corrupt them, in order to efface all ge-
 “ nerous Notions of Posterity, and their
 “ Country out of their Breasts; let those, I
 “ say, have Rope enough, and they will
 “ better answer our Purposes than *France*,
 “ even if she were sincere, and inclined to
 “ serve us.”

Every Article in the above Paragraph is a
 manifest Charge on the present Administra-
 tion, and indeed on the present Establish-
 ment; and every one of these Articles is as
 false as any Charge which ever came from
 the College of *St. Omer's*. I will examine
 them separately.

*Let all, says the Writer, who are fond of
 War, be indulged.* But how can the present
 Administration be charged with being fond
 of War? Why, because we are engaged in
 a War; a War undertaken at the repeated Sol-
 licitations of the Merchants, by the Advice of
 Parliament, and indeed desired, I might say
 demanded by the whole Nation. The then
 Ministry was forced into this War, against
 their Will, they declined it to the very last,
 were contemned and abused for having de-
 clined it so long, and were at last compelled

to

to undertake it, by the united loud Voice of the People, raised by the Trumpets of the Opposition, which had long blown nothing but War in the Ears of the Nation. This is a Fact known, recent, and in the Memory of all Men. Nor were the late Administration more averse to the Commencement of this War, than the present have been desirous to put an end to it. Are they not known to be desirous of re-establishing Peace? What Endeavours have they omitted for this End? Have they not gone every Length in advancing to this Purpose, which is consistent with the Honour of the Nation? nay, are not their Desires of obtaining a safe and honourable Peace so publicly known and acknowledged, that their Enemies have not scrupled to represent them as forward and willing to accept it on disadvantageous Terms? How unjust then, nay how impudent is this Charge! Nor less so is that of *Parades on the Continent*. It is allowed by this Writer to be as clear as the Day, that the Rupture with *Spain* unavoidably involved us in a War with *France*; where then is this War to be carried on? Are we desirous rather to make this Island than the Continent its Theatre?

And that this Island would be the Seat of the War, if once our Out-works on the Continent were

were entirely in the Possession of the Enemy, is demonstrable, and hath been demonstrated. It could not indeed remain so long, and the Reason is no less obvious than shocking. Will not the very Nature of the Thing deter us from placing an entire Confidence in a Defence, which is subject to the Disposition of the Winds? Will not History convince us how fatally this Protection of Situation and of maritime Strength have both been relied on; nay, will not even the Annals of King *William's* Reign shew us with how absurd a Vanity we boast our Superiority at Sea, over our present grand Enemy, and how capable he hath been, by a little Attention to his Marine, to dispute the Victory with us in that Element.

If the Continent be of so little Concern to us, as some unmeaning, or rather ill-meaning, Persons have represented it, why hath so much Blood been spilt, and Treasure spent, on it, in the Days of our *oldest Constitution*, and in the Reigns of our best and ablest Princes? Why have Possessions on it been sought after, been so dearly won and maintained, and lost with so much Reluctance by us? If the utmost Extent of *French* Conquests there be so insignificant to this Nation, why hath it been thought, in all Ages, so plainly our Interest

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to

to confine that ambitious Crown within such narrow Bounds? Why did *Charles* the Second encourage and promote the Extent of those Conquests, in order to subdue his own Subjects, and to extirpate the Liberties of *England*?

Lastly, If it be so little our Interest to oppose these Successes, it as little becomes us to lament them. *France* hath certainly obtained no other Triumphs over us in this War. At Sea, where we are told we ought to do every thing, we have done every thing; for so entirely have we debilitated and ruined the Navy of *France*, that the very Ships we have taken from her are more than sufficient to conquer those she hath left. In this Light our Arms on the Continent must be allowed to be useful, nay, I must say successful; since they have at least engaged the whole Finances of *France* in the Land Service, and have diverted their Attention from their Marine. Here then we ought to sing *Te Deum*, and to crown our Ministers with Laurels; but surely those who would represent us to have no Concern in the Affairs of the Continent, ought very little to lament our ill Success there; nor can Men who truly lament our Miscarriages there, very
justly

justly abuse the Administration, for having exerted their utmost Efforts to prevent them.

As to the base Suppositions concerning foreign Mercenaries, they are inclusively answered already. If neither the entering into the War, nor the maintaining it on the Continent, can be imputed as Faults to the Ministry, it will not surely be objected to them, that they do this in the easiest, cheapest and most effectual Manner; and that they are desirous to preserve both the Blood and Treasure of the Nation.

I come now to *the Increase of our Debts*. That these are increased, is a melancholy Truth; but that there are any in the present Administration, who desire this Increase, is as impudent a Falshood. This is the Consequence of the War; of that War which the People desired, nay which they would not be denied; nor can the necessary Incidents of this War be charged on the Administration, with greater Justice than the unavoidable Accidents of it have been. A vast Part of this Debt was contracted long ago, even in the Reign of the beloved Queen *Anne*; and the new Addition, though sufficiently deplorable, is however inconsiderable in the Comparison. Much the largest Share of it

hath indeed been contracted in the Cause of the Revolution, and if so, it hath been well and rightly contracted. Let it be imputed then to those on whom the Censure properly falls. The accursed *Jacobites*, who have supported the Machinations of *Rome* and *France* against their Country; Papists, who have attempted the Restoration of their Religion; and Protestants, who have long'd for they know not what; these are the Men who have obliged us to buy our Redemption from Popery and Slavery, at so high a Price; these are the Men who invited their dearly beloved King *James* to return to his loving Subjects; who afterwards spirited up the King of *France* to enter into a War in favour of his Son; and who have since encouraged that Crown, while at open Rupture with us, to send over his Grandson to this Kingdom, and to supply him with Arms, which we are to make use of against ourselves. *Rome* and *France*, the Pretender and his Adherents, have impoverished the Nation, and have loaded it with Debts and Taxes.

Possibly indeed some of his staunch Partizans here may have acted with the Views, which this Writer hath ridiculously imputed to the best Friends of the present Establishment. It is *now* at least, credible that while they

they have attacked us by all the Means of Force, they have still had this artful Design in Reserve ; intending if they should fail in the former to play this After-game, and to gain our Affections by the very Methods which they themselves made necessary for our Defence. This is indeed so base and jesuitical, that I should not easily have conceived it, had it not been asserted in Print ; but it now plainly appears, there is at least one Man in the World wicked enough to suggest it.

But indeed I am apprehensive that if he hopes any Success from this Scheme, he relies more upon our Folly, than I hope we shall ever warrant ; for it is much easier to shew the Falshood of his Conclusion than it hath been to refute his Premises. In order to do this, let us collect the scattered Argument, and reduce it to some Appearance of Form. Thus then it stands. The Nation under the present Establishment are burthened with Taxes, and many other Grievances ; by this Means they will become weary of the present R——l Family ; and will fly to the House of St——rt for Redress. Here, must not our Jesuit allow that it is not enough to prove the real existence of the Grievances, in order to warrant this Conclusion ; nay, even if they could be brought home and fixed on the present
R——l

R — l F — y, (the contrary of which is most certain) it doth not follow that we ought in Wisdom and Prudence, to throw ourselves into the Arms of the other ; for it may be, that we may find no Redress of our Grievances by this Means ; nay, we may thus incur still greater and more intolerable Mischiefs than we would avoid by this R — l Exchange : For surely no Jacobite is Fool enough to think, nor no Jesuit impudent enough to assert that there are no Grievances greater than our present. We must be allow'd at present to enjoy the greatest of all Human Blessings, Liberty, in the fullest Extent, in which any Nation ever did, or could enjoy it. Our Persons, and our Properties must be acknowledged to be secure from all kind of Violence ; nay, we think, we talk and we write whatever we please. Of the last of these Liberties the present Apology is an Instance ; for had any Person attacked the established Government with equal Virulence and Impudence, in any other Country, he would, in all, have met with the most exemplary Punishment, and in many, he would have been hanged. *Rara temporum Felicitas cum sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere liceat.* A Happiness which we certainly enjoy.

And this Liberty, so perfect in Civil Matters, is no less uncontrolled in Religious. A Truth so manifest, so impossible to be contested, that it would be grossly mispending Time to offer a Syllable in support of it.

Now both these great Blessings (for such they are ; tho' both are often applied to a very improper Use,) we may lose by a change of that Government, under which we enjoy them ; and that we should lose both by the Exchange here proposed, is as clear and evident as the future Consequences of any human Measures can be averred to be.

Let us look backwards to the Reigns of the *Stuarts*. A Family which were twice expell'd from the Throne within the Term of about 40 Years, for their open and violent Attacks on the Liberty of this Nation. If we have not Leisure to read over all the black Annals of these four Princes, who all lay in wait for our Liberties, as the Devil is in Scripture said to lay in wait for our Souls ; let us examine at least the Reign of *James* the II^d. where every Engine that *Rome* could invent or furnish, was employed to extirpate all our Liberty and all our Religion.

Let

Let us look forwards to what we may reasonably expect from a 5th Prince of the same Family, of the same Political Principles, and of the same Religion: *By Birth a Stuart, by Education a Papist; a Bigot under the Influence of the Councils of Rome, and under the Protection of France:* FOR BY THE ARMS OF THAT MONARCH ALONE HE CAN EVER BE ESTABLISHED HERE. And here is it possible to add one Argument to those *, which have been already advanced, and which none of their Party hath ever yet attempted to answer? And how trite and tedious must the Repetition of the same Arguments appear, to evince a self-evident Truth? Who can have the Patience to prove that it is the Nature of Fire to burn? But with what Indignation must we argue with Men, whom neither Reason nor Experience can convince of this, and whom not the Flames which have almost totally consumed their Ancestors, nor those which they see blazing in neighbouring Nations, can deter from desiring to apply a Firebrand to their own Houses. Can any *Man in his Senses*

* See the serious Address published in the time of the late Rebellion, and the Dialogue between an Alderman and a Courtier, published last Summer; both by the Author of this Pamphlet.

Senses doubt whether *English* Liberty, and the Protestant Religion could probably, nay, possibly exist under a Prince bred up in the Principles of Popery and arbitrary Power; who must be introduced here, and must as certainly govern us, under the Influence and Protection of those Princes, who profess and practice that Policy and that Religion? If there be a Person capable of this Faith, how dreadful a Task must it be on any *Man in his Senses* to argue with him!

Without undertaking this Task then, I shall averr, that if the Premises asserted in this Apology were true, the Conclusion would be false; we must be infinite Losers in the Exchange, and consequently most wretched Fools to desire it.

Can any Price be bid up to the value of our Religion and Liberties? Can any Advantages be offer'd to us in exchange for these? Admitting they could, doth the Apologist offer us any such? What can he mean (if he means any thing more than to deceive the Multitude by Words) by the Restoration of the *old Constitution*, unless it be to restore Popery and Slavery; the only Branches of *our Constitution*, which the Revolution and the present Establishment can be said to have lopped off! I

E

defy

defy him and all his Brother-Priests to mention another.

But it is tacitly insinuated, that by such Means the Nation would be relieved from its Debt. How! not by the Payment of it. Foreign Debts as well as foreign Obligations to our bitterest Enemies will be imported; but not a Farthing of foreign Coin. The National Debt is to be discharged by a Sponge, *i. e.* by the Ruin of one half of our People.

How desirable this Event is, I leave to others, seriously to consider. Common Sense, I think must shew it in a very shocking Light to those who are to be ruined by the Expedient; and common Honesty, indeed common Humanity, will represent it in no very favourable Colours to the rest. But if this be a desirable Event, there is no Reason why we should purchase it at the Price of our Religion and Liberty, since it may be attained at a cheaper rate; and surely this eligible and honest Purpose is as much in the Power of one Government to execute, as it can be in the Power of any other. If we will then ruin one half of our Fellow Subjects, let us not ruin all; nay, let us leave those who are to be thus deprived of their Properties, all the other Blessings of Society, and not cruelly
take

take away their Religion and Liberties, in order to rob them of their Money.

As Power will always have Enemies, so in a free Nation we are always to expect Clamours against it. We are not therefore to wonder that our Apologist complains, of *tiring out the Nation with Debts, Taxes, coercive Laws, and Clogs upon Trade and Industry*; we may rather be surprized that so fertile an Invention, employed with such wicked Views, should be able to find out no other popular, abusive; seditious Words than these, which may be reduced to two; namely, to coercive Laws, and to our national Debt, of which all the others are the necessary Consequence.

By the former of these, I solemnly declare I know not what is meant. I could point out many Laws made since the Revolution, in Affirmance and Protection of the Liberty of the Subject, besides the Declaration of Rights allowed and enacted at the Time of that Revolution, and which did indeed renovate and restore the true *old Constitution*, from the many Pollutions introduced into it under the *Stuarts*. But I defy this wicked Writer to name a single coercive Law enacted within this Period, which hath tended to enlarge the Power of the Crown,

or in the least to abridge the lawful Liberty of the People.

The Charge of *coercive Laws* therefore I reject as false in Fact. As to our *great national Debt*, which, together with the War, is the sole Cause of all our *Taxes*, and of all *Clogs upon Trade and Industry*, it is a Truth which must be acknowledged by all ; and tho' Malignity only can represent this as a *Grievance to be complained of*, it is surely a Calamity bitterly to be lamented ; nor is it more lamented by any than by the greatest of those now in Power. Reason itself will tell us this ; for it is the severest and heaviest Clog on their Administration ; nay, the Apologist tells it us in every Page : For what is the whole Design of his Performance, but to prove that no Man can desire to increase or aggravate this national Misfortune, but with a View to promote the Jacobitical Scheme ? The Charge then might be fairly retorted, and this Grievance might be fixed on the *Jacobites* themselves, from the Words of their own Writer ; and so far in Fact, as hath been already said, they are chargeable ; that they and their Prince, and the great *French* Patron of that Prince, have been the Occasion of laying us under this heavy Incumbrance.

I am sensible that I have, in this Pamphlet, repeated the same thing more than once, but I am arguing with Men into whose Heads common Sense must be, as it were, beaten, by frequent Repetition.

All the Miseries which this Nation feels, or which she hath to fear, are indeed, as the Apologist contends, strictly chargeable on that cursed Faction, which hath taken every Opportunity to weaken the Hands of the Government at home, and the Reputation of it abroad ; which, from the Time of the Expulsion of their Popish Idol, even to this Day, a Period of near sixty Years, have never rested from attempting the Restoration of him and of his Family. During this whole Period, the Government hath been constantly attacked, by the grossest, falsest, and most malicious Calumnies, by the most groundless Murmurs, by secret and assassinating Plots, by bold and open Rebellions, and by Sollicitations of all the Assistance which the Cabals of *Rome*, our ancient Tyrant, and of *France*, our natural Enemy, could afford them. A just Opposition to these wicked Measures hath, of Necessity, increased our Taxes, and I will boldly add, hath increased Corruption ; if to bribe the People to pre-
serve

serve themselves may, with Candour, be so called.

These are the only Evils under which the Nation groans, and these are most clearly to be imputed to the *Jacobites*. To charge them on the Government, is as monstrous an Injustice, as it would be to charge the Mischiefs brought on our Body by certain Remedies, (which however dangerous, are, in some inveterate Cases, allowed to be the only effectual ones,) to the Physician, and not to the Disease.

And now to speak aloud, should there ever come a Time when a wicked Administration should, in reality, pursue very pernicious Measures, the *Jacobites* would give those Measures the fairest Chance of Success: For while our Constitution is in such apparent Danger from this Party, wise and good Men would rather give up a great deal, than hazard the whole, by joining in an Opposition with Men, whose avowed Intention it is *to give up the whole*. It is indeed most certain, that no Grievances can be brought upon us by any Administration under the present Establishment, which may reasonably reconcile us to the Exchange proposed in this Apology; since it must be an Axiom with all Protestants, that a Protestant

testant Tyrant is preferable to a Popish one, as it would be better to retain a religious Liberty than none at all.

But, in God's Name, can any such pernicious Measures be imputed to the present Administration? Is there a Man dishonest enough, or indeed impudent enough to assert, or even to insinuate, that one single Act of Power, unsupported by Law, can be charged upon them, or on their royal Master?

Lastly, Can the Nation complain of any one Evil, except these before-mentioned, and fairly and unanswerably accounted for? In all free Countries there will be Struggles for Power among the Great; nor will these Struggles be always conducted with the strictest Regard to moral Rectitude. One Instance of this Deviation is the Deceit constantly imposed on the People, by those who oppose, (that is who aim at obtaining) Power; for such constantly endeavour to annex the Colour of publick Interest to their own; but in Reality the People are less interested in this Contest, than the Tenants of a Manor commonly are in Competitions for the Stewardship; and are certain to be made only Tools and Bubbles of, when they enter with any Zeal into the Contention. In *England*

we

we have never been without these Struggles, and from them must have been duly derived all those Clamours which Posterity only have seen to be groundless; and hence only, together with the destructive Schemes of Popish Priests, the most artful of Men, and of Protestant *Jacobites*, the silliest of Animals, have arisen all the base, and false, and wicked Aspersions, so industriously propagated against the honestest Ministry with which any Nation hath been blessed.

As to the Gentleman whose Name stands foremost, and who is maliciously hinted at by this Apologist to have succeeded to Sir *Robert Walpole's Influence*, hath even the Apologist the Confidence to lay the least black Imputation upon him? His Virtues are too well known, too glaring, to encourage such an Attempt; and this the Silence of his worst Enemies on that Head have declared. He hath indeed a Mind which no Difficulties can conquer, nor any Power corrupt.

And why that not more invidious than false Reflection on his Parts? Was it from his Want of Parts that the Apologist tells us, Sir *Robert Walpole* foresaw he was likely to succeed him? Was it owing to such Want that he did so far succeed him, as to take the Lead in
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the subsequent Administration, and to be regarded, submitted to, nay insisted on, as the most equal to this Lead, by the Heads of so many clashing and contending Parties? Do his Speeches in the H—— of C----- betray this Want of Parts? Or lastly, hath he shewn this by his great Support of the national Credit, at a Time when it was so severely attacked, so desperately despaired of, and so wonderfully preserved, by the Abilities of this Gentleman, and by the Reliance which the more sensible Part of Mankind had on these Abilities, joined with the highest Integrity? ---- But I will restrain my own Inclinations from pursuing so amiable a Subject farther, and shall quit this truly great Man, with an Assertion which I have heard from one of the wisest and greatest of his Intimates, *That he envied him on every Account except for his Power.*

And here I would likewise have quitted this Apologist, had he confined himself to the Abuse of Civil Power; but the following Paragraph, which falls on the whole Body of the *English* Clergy, certainly deserves some Observation. “ A Man, says the Apologist, “ may be a staunch Patriot, without thinking better of our spiritual Guides, than “ they deserve. How have they merited
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“ the Attention, or Approbation of Men of
 “ Sense and Candour? Churchmen, *before*
 “ *my Time*, may have had some Title to the
 “ Esteem of the People; but since I had
 “ any Knowledge of Men, *the Clergy have*
 “ *brought the C---b itself into C---t.*”

Here the Jesuit speaks out, and I hope all
 the Clergy of the Church of *England* will
 hear him. *Before my Time*, says he, *Church-*
men may have had some Title to the Esteem of
the People. What is meant by this, or to
 what Time must he be understood to refer?
 Individuals may, perhaps, have deserved more
 Censure in some Ages than they have deserved
 in others; but I know no Reflection which
 can be justly cast on *the whole Body* within
 these last forty Years. The Clergy therefore,
 who may have had some Title to the Esteem
 of the People, were the Popish Clergy; by
 re-establishing those therefore, the Church
 is to be rescued from that Contempt
 which the Reformation hath laid it under.
 This, I think, is a fresh Intimation of what
 the Church of *England* may expect from
 the Success of these Jacobitical Schemes, to
 which, I am afraid, some of the Reformed
 Clergy have formerly given too great As-
 sistance. Of such Folly, I gladly acknowledge,
 very few have lately been guilty; and this
 may indeed account for that intemperate Re-
 sent-

sentment against them, which hath above escaped a little untimely from the Pen of their Enemies, and which nothing but the highest Rancour could have led our Apologist out of his Way to introduce. But perhaps I injure him by saying he is led out of his Way, since we may so well connect his Arguments against the Church, with those which he hath urged against the State, and indeed with his general Purpose; for could he reconcile us to Popery, the great Work of *Jacobitism* might, for the future, be carried on without Fallacy or Imposition, and Men might be made *Jacobites*, without being first bereft of their Understandings. Beside what can be more analogous than the Arguments here advanced against our Religion, to those which have been before urged against our Government: For do not the Faults of the Clergy afford as good and cogent Reason for abandoning the Protestant Religion in favour of Popery, as the Faults of an Administration under the present Establishment can possibly suggest for overturning that Establishment in favour of the Pretender.

The Imprudence and Malice of this Attack on their whole Body, who are here represented in a worse Light than any of their

libertine Enemies have ever dared to represent them in, will, I hope, open the Eyes of all ; and if any Members of the Church should yet remain weak enough to favour, even in their most fervent Wishes, the cursed Designs of this Party, they will now, I hope, be awakened to see, to detest, and to resent this injurious Treatment of their now open and unmasked Enemies. However, they may be held by those, who in all their Writings* and Discourses treat them as *the sacrilegious Usurpers of their Right and Patrimony*, they will, I hope, never justify the Character given of them above, nor bring *themselves into Contempt, and their Church to Destruction*, by espousing the Cause of their most inveterate Enemies. On the contrary, I hope the Pulpit will henceforth resound with the Praises of that Government under which their Religious as well as Civil Liberty is secured, and the Church of *England* flourishes in all its just and legal Privileges.

Indeed, it is no less the Interest of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, than of the Religion they profess, to maintain and defend the present Royal Establishment in these King-

* This is the Term given to the Church of *England* by almost every *Papish* Writer.

doms. If they are wise, they must be themselves convinced, and if they are honest, they will endeavour to convince others, that A PROTESTANT CHURCH CAN BE ONLY SAFE UNDER THE PROTECTION OF A PROTESTANT KING, AND THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF A POPISH PRINCE MUST CERTAINLY BE ATTENDED WITH AN INTRODUCTION OF THE POPISH RELIGION.

I have now done with this Author, and I hope, have sufficiently exposed both him and his wicked Performance to the Contempt, or rather to the Detestation and Abhorrence of every Man, who hath any Regard for the Liberty and Religion now established in this Country; and which are as securely established under the Protection of the present Royal Family as the Wit of Man, or the Force of Policy can establish them. The Principles of Liberty and the Protestant Religion, placed the Crown upon the present Royal Head that wears it; these Principles alone have hitherto maintained, and still must maintain it there. If that old Political Maxim, that the Interest of the King and People are the same, was ever true, it must hold so in this Instance. If our King or his Posterity will pre-

preserve their Crown, they must preserve our Religion and Freedom ; if we will secure to ourselves the Possession of these Blessings, we must secure to our King and his Posterity the Possession of the Crown. I think, without presuming to violate the Sacred Person of his present Majesty with Panygyric, I may say, these Blessings are now entire in our Enjoyment ; I may say farther, that we can as yet foresee no time when any Prince of this august House would wish to deprive us of them ; but if such, in remote Times should arise, I will say, he must act contrary to his own Interest as well as ours. He cannot weaken our Religious and Civil Rights, without in the same Degree weakening himself. If he denies our Right to Liberty, he must deny his Right to the Crown ; and who among us will be ready to defend the latter, when he is deprived of the former ? *The Throne is established in the present Royal Family in Righteousness, and Righteousness alone can preserve it there.*

On the contrary, as the Principles of Popery and Slavery only can impose a Popish Pretender on us, so none but those Principles can preserve him here. If Popery and Slavery were not so firmly united in their Natures

as they are, I believe it will readily be granted, that the former cannot be introduced here, till it is preceeded by the latter. As it is certain therefore that a Popish Prince will endeavour to make us Papists, it is as certain he would first endeavour to make us Slaves. Nay, this would be politically his Interest, even if Religion was out of the Case. For *Henry* the Seventh, who was introduced here by the Nobility, did all he could to weaken their Power, well knowing their Fickleness, and fearing lest they should expel him again : How much more justly may this Person suspect, that a Nation whom no Government can content, no Security can satisfy, would act by him as they had before done by others? How wise, and even how necessary must it be to govern those with a Rod of Iron, with whom every other Method had been found ineffectual? And what should restrain him from the Exercise of this Rod? The Friends of Freedom are not his Friends, neither can they justly tell him, that he owes his Crown to their Principles. The Liberty so stoutly contended for, and so strongly fortified by the Revolution, is by his Restoration abolished and superseded ; and our *old Constitution*, that is, the Constitution as it existed under, and was left by *James* the Second, restored. He
would

would not even have any Restraint on his Conscience, but would be in the same Seat of his Ancestors, with the same Rights, the same Reins, and the same Rod of Iron in his Hands, which they themselves so heartily exercised upon us.

But God forbid we should ever put this in the Hands of any one ; and if our own Folly renders us unworthy of the Protection of Providence, may we be prevented from entailing such Curses on OUR INNOCENT POSTERITY.



F I N I S.

